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literally at the mercy of one after another of the big nations. Any one of the great powers may proceed as it likes against a small state to-day, and no other will interfere in even a pacific way to prevent the wrong. None is disposed to do so. None dares to do so, so great are the perils. These armaments, therefore, open a direct way for the extinction of the small states by the separate aggressions of the large ones. If the great armaments continue, with the attendant greed and love of exhibition of power, the result will probably finally be the wiping out by violence of the independence of all the small states of the world. The trend is very strongly in that direction at the present time.

The United States, it is true, has recently intervened ostensibly to save Cuba from oppression and make her independent,—not against a great power, which she never would have done,—but her benevolent intervention seems practically certain to end in the “benevolent assimilation” of all the peoples whom she so “disinterestedly” started out to set free. As her navy and army grow, she will be more and more disinclined to intervene with any humane intention.

Who would intervene, if Russia, as is now feared, should proceed to seize Scandinavia and wipe out its independence, as she has done that of Finland? Which one of their rivals would say nay, if Germany should conclude to extend her sovereignty over Denmark and the Netherlands, or if France should take over Belgium and Switzerland? What great power would even enter a protest, if the United States should take it into her head to annex the whole of Nicaragua or Costa Rica, or both?

Only where the “interests” of the great armed powers lie in the same territories do they have any restraining influence over one another; and in such cases it is not their love of justice and the rights of weaker peoples that move them,—it is their dread of one another. It is the great powers’ fear of one another, not any respect for the rights of the native people, that has saved China from partition.

We are not here, even indirectly, advocating armed intervention. That is another question. We are only pointing out the inevitable tendency of great armaments to make intervention of any kind to save small peoples from destruction impossible, and their further tendency to make the destruction of such peoples certain.

It is much more creditable to a great newspaper’s heart that it sees and cries out against the almost unparalleled political crime in South Africa, than it is to its head that it advocates with all its journalistic resources the rivalry by our government of the naval strength of the military powers. Every battleship added to our navy will, for the two reasons given above, increase the impossibility of our government’s ever intervening to save the existence of a people.

It will inevitably decrease the desire to do so, and at the same time promote aggressiveness on our own part against weak peoples.

The greatest peril to liberty and human rights to-day, in their national aspects, is the immense armies and navies of the time. These priceless blessings cannot be saved unless the armaments are checked and finally destroyed. Instead of urging the country on to the building of the swiftest ships of war, the *New York Journal*, and all other journals which have any clear vision of the meaning and pricelessness of human liberties and human rights, ought, morning and evening, wherever their numberless sheets are sold, to utter a perpetual warning against the policies and the instruments of the growing tyranny of brute force in its modern form. The time has come to cease glorifying rifles, cannon and ships of war. Our true defences are something very different. These are our enemies, whom we are beginning to harbor within our own gates. They have already wounded us more sorely than we know, and they will strike us a still deadlier blow in the years to come.

It is the shallowest of wisdom, in the press or anywhere else, to be systematically destroying with one hand what one is trying devotedly and earnestly to build with the other.

Editorial Notes.

International Law Conference.

The International Law Association, founded in 1873, has grown to be an organization of much distinction and influence. It has a membership of nearly three hundred and fifty, including many of the leading jurists of different countries. The Association is to hold its twentieth conference this year at Glasgow, at the invitation of the Lord Provost and corporation of the city, beginning on the 20th of this August. The conference will be presided over by the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, the Earl of Halsbury, and will discuss many questions of great importance in international relations. The first subject to be taken up will be the proposed international rules of marine insurance, which have been under consideration for two years. The subject of international execution of foreign judgments will also come up in reports from the national committees. The working out of arbitration agreements by international tribunals, the position of pauper litigants in the various legal systems, marriage laws, trading with the enemy, the status of foreign curators of lunatics in the English courts, the relations between Scottish and French law, the responsibility of neutral states for the actions of their individuals, make the program a very full one. The Executive Council by whom the program has been prepared are hoping for a large attendance of the members of the Association.

Plea for a Peaceable Spirit. The recent Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in England issued under the above caption an admirable address to its members and to the Christian churches, from which we are glad to quote the following passages:

"War has laid its spell of hate even upon the Church of Christ, in strange discord with her message of redeeming love. The political origins of the conflict are beside our present purpose. The avalanche has fallen, and now it is the ruin in its path that compels consideration. Confronted with war's aftermath, the Christian conscience is ill at ease, and the way is open for the peaceable spirit of the gospel to reassert itself in mind and heart.

"Many who at first supported the war with honest conviction recognize the moral deterioration that has marked its progress. Individuals have made heroic sacrifices for a cause which they believed to be just; many have borne with resignation the heaviest sorrow which can darken the home; but in the nation as a whole the merciless logic of war has induced the suppression of the nobler impulses, and has shut the door on the promptings of love. As passion has risen the old story has been repeated, and once more the malice of man has trampled on the life of Christ. How lurid is the scene before us — in Africa the long-drawn struggle, with its roll of disease and death, the devastation of the land, the burning of homesteads, the driving of destitute women and children into vast camps, the widening gulf of hate and bitterness between the two races; and in England the reign of prejudice, the fever of passion, the riots, the orgies in our streets, the preaching of vengeance by the press, and even from some pulpits.

"The defamation of our foes, which has defiled the columns of our secular, and even of our religious, press, cannot by any jugglery of logic be accommodated to the sublime command, 'Love your enemies.' The un-Christian spirit which denounces 'magnanimity,' and insists on a 'fight to a finish,' has swept like a parching desert wind through the churches. Conceal it as we may, we have been betrayed into inconsistencies which stand exposed to a scoffing world, and weaken our testimony to God's redeeming love. In condoning militarism the Christian Church destroys with one hand the edifice of love which she seeks to build with the other. It is her call to purify the national conscience, to build up national character, and to insist that, in corporate as in individual life, the one standard of conduct must be the standard of Christ. As an apologist for war, she abdicates her function.

"The platform and the press to-day proclaim aloud the false doctrine of force, and men will scarcely brook the slower methods of peace. But in South Africa force has not solved, but complicated, the racial and political problem. And in China the barbarism of the allied intervention, with its atrocities in the name of Europe, must for long years retard missionary effort, and stamps with hypocrisy a civilization which professes brotherhood, but practices revenge.

"The issue lies plain before the Christian Church. On the one hand we see a growing reliance on military power for material ends; on the other, the ideal of

righteousness and love as the bond and foundation of empire. The ideal tarries through want of faith in the practical efficacy of the spirit and teaching of Christ. We appeal to the churches to wake to their high task of maintaining a faith which shall make no compromise with evil, but penetrate life with the Master's spirit of peace."

Joseph Cook.

Joseph Cook, who died on the 24th of June at his summer home, Cliff Seat, Ticonderoga, N. Y., was a man of remarkable power in many directions. In his own field he had no peer. In fact, by his peculiar genius and prodigious moral force, he made his field and occupied it all alone as few men have ever done. While religious interpretation and apologetics constituted his central theme, he made this touch every phase of moral reform, and tremendous were the blows that he delivered against the social and political sins and organized evils of the time. He had his limitations, his large idiosyncrasies, some of them possibly amounting to defects; at least those who had not the power to follow him, and people of the world who had no sympathy with him and wished him failure, considered them such. Mr. Cook was an uncompromising believer in high and righteous living. No man perhaps ever had a deeper and more reverential sense than he had of God, of his omnipresence, his exhaustless power, his unceasing wisdom and his holy law. To him human life had no low plane on which men and women might safely pass a part of their time. No man had a higher conception than he of the verity and vitality of the Christian faith, whatever may be thought of the correctness of some of his positions; and he believed in the universal application of its lofty and pure morality, of its love and goodwill to all human affairs, private, social, national and international. The influence which he had upon the religious life of his generation, on both its intellectual and its moral side, was very great and world-wide in its reach.

Mr. Cook's Peace Views.

Mr. Cook had been for many years a member and vice-president of the American Peace Society, and was deeply interested in its work. He was not a radical peace man. He believed that war is sometimes righteous in great emergencies, or rather that it had been in the past. Some reasons, perhaps temperamental ones, prevented him from taking on this subject what seems to many to be the highest ground, as he did on other questions of reform. Though a great admirer of John Bright, John G. Whittier and others of the radical peace school, he did not go with them to what they believed to be the logical outcome of the gospel principles. But, nevertheless, he believed with all his soul in universal peace. He believed

that Christian morality ought to be carried into all international relations; that Christianity has grown so powerful that it is now responsible for the continuance of war. He believed in arbitration, in a permanent international tribunal, in special treaties of obligatory arbitration between different countries. He often insisted on the codification of international law, and the reformation of it into harmony with Christian principles. He wanted to see a periodic conference of the nations to facilitate the growth of friendship, of justice and of peace. He held that the gospel and not the sword is the agency to be used in the civilization of the pagan nations, and that the greed of commerce—though commerce he believed to be naturally a peacemaker—must not be allowed to stand in the way of international righteousness and brotherhood. American cormorant imperialism and British jackal imperialism, as he called them, had no more courageous critic than he. He believed in a “cosmopolitan moral federation” of the nations, not in an alliance of force. He declared that the Nicaragua canal, or any other isthmian waterway, if one should ever be constructed, should be forever neutralized. On all these great subjects, no man had a truer, larger, clearer world-outlook than he. He often spoke on them with great eloquence and power. Those who heard it can never forget his masterly speech in Tremont Temple, Boston, on the occasion of the visit of the English Arbitration deputation in 1887. One of the grandest recent addresses made by him was that at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference last year on “The Higher Levels of Arbitration,” printed at the time in this journal. In this address he rose to something like the vigor of his days of health, and his thought and moral vision never seemed stronger and clearer. He died as he had lived, with his large mind and soul full of great thoughts and sentiments about the grandeur of the universe, the majesty of God, and the redemption and unification of humanity. He saw again the great vision of Isaiah, and the vision is approaching its fulfilment.

Cover It
All Up!

Commander Schroeder, governor of Guam, has been telling the truth about the hoodlamlism of the marines out there, and the government, instead of praising him, has, through Secretary of the Navy Long, boxed his ears and told him that he ought to have kept his mouth shut. The reputation of the “flag’s defenders” must not be lowered by letting the public know about their thefts of private property and other iniquities! The public must be kept thinking they are pure and honorable fellows, whether they are or not! Into the merits of this particular case it is not material that we should go. It is only another illustration of the habit of governments and supporters

of war in general to cover up the moral leprosy which always goes along with armies. It has been so in the Philippines, shame to tell; it has been so in South Africa; it is so in France, in Germany, everywhere else. It has always been so. Soldiering has been considered a business where nice notions of moral cleanness were not expected to prevail. It has its own permitted standards of conduct so different from those of private life that the less the public know about what goes on around camps and barracks the better it is considered to be. In our time of the press and telegraph it is difficult to keep such things covered up. They leak out; and the knowledge of their prevalence and loathsomeness is doing much to create disgust with the whole business of war. The government veil thrown over the corruption blinds a good many excellent people still, but it does not blind everybody. The government’s indifference, apologies and defences make many good people believe that such immoralities do not exist or are greatly exaggerated. If the actual facts, however, could be fully portrayed to the public eye and mind, the glamour of soldiering would turn at once into pitchy blackness. War, like all other great evils, can only continue to exist by covering up its deformities and putting on it a fair exterior. How long will sensible men and pure women allow themselves to be deceived as to its true character by the shining garb—the gold lace and tinsel—that is flung over its ghastly skeleton!

Belgian
Socialists.

The annual report of the General Council of the Belgian Labor Party to the recent Congress held at Liège gives interesting information of the progress of anti-militarism among the Belgian Socialists, especially the young men. “The groups of Young Socialist Guards,” says the report, “continue to deserve the entire confidence of the Labor Party. With tireless devotion, by speech and by writing, they pursue their anti-militarist propaganda. At the period of the drawing of lots they published their annual papers, *Le Conscriit* (The Conscript) and *De Loteling* (The Lot-drawing), fifty-five thousand copies of which were printed and sent by post to the soldiers. Thousands of anti-militarist manifestoes were distributed and more than a hundred meetings and public demonstrations organized.” The report further says that during the days of the drawing of lots, in coöperation with the Luxemburg Socialist Federation, they organized in that province open-air meetings in all the chief places of the canton. In this way the number of Socialist votes was considerably increased at the elections in 1900. At the beginning of October these Young Socialist Guards “got out their journal, *La Caserne* (The Barracks), and distributed it among those who were entering the army.” They held

their annual Congress at Alost, at which the discussions were able and the resolutions vigorous. They have been publishing the past year a monthly journal, *L'Anti-militariste*, which has three thousand subscribers. Through their influence the International Federation of Socialist Youth was formed at Paris last year, which has its headquarters at Brussels. They carry on an active propaganda even in the army. In this struggle against militarism they have found earnest helpers among old soldiers who are Socialists, and who have formed of themselves a national federation. A number of these encouraging anti-militarist developments have taken place the past year, and they have their counterpart in many parts of Europe.

British and French Workers. The *Herald of Peace* says that the return visit paid to the workers of Great Britain by fifty representative Frenchmen, who were delegates from trades unions in France, was very successful." This visit, which took place in the middle of June, was in return for a visit paid by English workmen to their French brethren during the Exposition last summer. The delegates from the French trades unions took with them to London an address which contained a strong protest against war. In reference to compulsory military service, of which France has had a prolonged trial, the address said: "We have long suffered from this form of slavery. We know too well the degrading moral and physical effects that compulsory military service produces on a people. It warps the spirit of initiative, smothers all desire for independence, and withers up the sense of self-respect." These workingmen have a very clear conception of the degradations and burdens of the present military system of Europe, and we hope they will persist in their protests until not a workingman can be found in all Europe who is unwilling to join them in their propaganda. When the workingmen are thoroughly united and learn how to use their ballots, they will be able to compel every constitutional government in Europe to take active measures for disarmament. The workers of Great Britain, if thoroughly aroused, ought to be able to make it impossible for conscription ever to get a foothold on English soil.

Christian Endeavor. The United Society of Christian Endeavor is rapidly becoming one of the most powerful agencies in existence for the promotion of international friendship, unity and peace. If it had not taken up this work as one of its special objects, its influence, from the very nature and methods of the organization, would be almost as great as the positive adoption of this line of service can make it. There are now over sixty thousand societies in the organization,

with a membership of nearly four millions. At the twentieth international convention held at Cincinnati last month, at which the attendance was the largest on record, Secretary John Willis Baer said in his annual report:

"One of the most gratifying facts to report is steady growth in foreign and missionary lands. Indeed, nothing shows the adaptability of Christian Endeavor to every climate and country more than the fact that there are national Christian Endeavor unions in the United States, Canada, England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Australia, France, Spain, Germany, South Africa, India, China, Mexico and Japan; and that Christian Endeavor leaflets and constitutions may now be found in Chinese, Japanese, Malagasy, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Bulgarian, Armenian, Siamese, German, French, Italian, Greek, Spanish, Swedish, Dutch, Norwegian, Welsh, Australian, Hungarian, Coptic, Mexican, Portuguese, Indian, the many dialects of India and Africa."

Mr. Baer was very modest in his language when he declared the Society to be "a broad interdenominational, international and interracial brotherhood." It is a brotherhood of young people, who, with those of kindred societies (which ought to be under the same banner), are to have all the world's interests in their hands within a third of a century. It is entirely within the power of these millions of young men and women, the number of whom is increasing amazingly every year, in "every kindred and tribe and people and tongue and color and creed," if they will set it before them as a clear and positive duty, to put an end absolutely and forever to all war, interdenominational, interracial and international, *before the twentieth century is half gone*. How could they please Him to whom they pledge their service better than by doing this? They would thereby be setting up the very central pillar of the House and Kingdom of God.

Universal Peace Union. The Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia held its thirty-fifth annual meeting at Buffalo from the 14th to the 17th of July. The meetings were held in the First Congregational Church, of which Rev. Frank S. Fitch, D. D., is pastor. Addresses were made and papers presented by Dr. S. F. Hershey of Boston; Andrew J. Palm of Meadville, Pa.; Belva A. Lockwood of Washington; Rev. Frank S. Fitch of Buffalo; Rev. L. W. Powers of Buffalo; J. M. Peebles, M. D., of Battle Creek, Mich.; Dr. William P. Wilson of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, Judge William N. Ashman of Philadelphia; Maria Freeman Gray of San Francisco; Rev. Julius E. Grammer of Baltimore; Hezekiah Butterworth of Boston, and others. Some of the subjects discussed were, "Peace for the Individual, Home and Nation," "International Arbitration; the Hague Tribunal," "The Church as an Agency for Peace," "Peace the Right and Hope of

Mankind," "Who and What are War Makers?" "The Secret of Peace," "Our Wars," "Commerce as a Conservator of Peace," "Substitutes for the Military System," "What can Women do for Peace?" "Christ, the Author of Peace," "Peace through the Laboring Man and Woman," "Education of the Young for Peace," etc. At the close of the meetings strong resolutions were passed of a similar character to those which the Union has been putting forth since its organization over a third of a century ago. Alfred H. Love, the founder of the Union and its president from the beginning, was reelected to that office. On the Sabbath preceding the opening of the anniversary meetings, many of the pastors of Buffalo spoke on the subject of peace, as they all had been invited to do.

Brevities.

. . . The German and British governments have come to an agreement about the composition and powers of a joint commission to fix the boundary line between the Gold Coast and the *Winterland* of Togoland in West Africa. The commission will leave for West Africa in September, probably.

. . . The *Echo* of London, "after some fluctuations of conduct," as Mr. Leonard Courtney says, "difficult to follow and still more difficult to understand," has, like the *Daily News*, passed under new control and is to be run as an anti-jingo, anti-war journal. In its issue of June 25th, it printed strong testimonies of approval of its course from Mr. Bryce, Herbert Spencer, Mr. Courtney, Dr. Fairbairn, Dr. Clifford, the Dean of Durham, Lord Hobhouse, Lord Aberdeen, John Burns, Sir Robert Reid, Frederic Harrison, Lloyd George and others.

. . . The last British loan of \$300,000,000 carries the total addition to the national debt, on account of the war in South Africa, up to about \$635,000,000. Besides this, about \$200,000,000 has been raised by extra taxation. During the debate on the loan bill on the 4th of July, a member of the Commons said that if \$400,000,000 more had to be borrowed (this is altogether probable), the national debt would be restored to the highest point it had ever reached, and the savings of sixty years would have been swept away.

. . . In his Fourth of July address at Philadelphia, Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese ambassador, whom any country might well be proud to have as a citizen, said: "The day is not far distant when love of country will be secondary to humanity as a virtue."

. . . The directors of the Old South Historic Work in Boston have published as a leaflet, No. 114 in the series, the text of the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Controversies.

. . . The Porto Rican legislature has passed a resolution decreeing free trade with the United States, and on the 25th of July President McKinley issued a proclamation carrying out the decree.

. . . The latest reports show that the number of Chinese in the United States has decreased 17,675 in ten years. We wonder that any of them remain in a country whose exclusion laws earmark them as irredeemable pagans.

. . . On the 27th of June the Women's Universal Peace Alliance held in Paris, in the hall of the Learned Societies, a meeting to protest against the impending destruction by the Turks of the Christians in Macedonia. An appeal from thirty-three Macedonian and Bulgarian Women's Societies was presented, and strong addresses were delivered by the president, Princess Wiszniewska, Professor Marillier and others. The powers which signed the Berlin Convention were appealed to, to see that Article 23 of that convention was carried out.

. . . At the time of the recent railroad machinists' strike at Atlanta, Georgia, Hon. Hoke Smith said, when some of the Technology students took the place of the strikers: "I do not consider that a State institution should tolerate within its walls as students, supported by the money of the State, young men to take the places of other men who have quit work because they believe they have a grievance and want to arbitrate it, but are not allowed to do so." He spoke in the strongest terms of the principle of arbitration as involving the welfare of the nation, and said that it ought to have the support of every class.

. . . George Kennan has been expelled from Russia as a person "politically unsafe." This action has undoubtedly resulted from the government's soreness over Kennan's exposure, years ago, of the horrors of the political prisons in Siberia. It is difficult to conceive what purpose, except pure vindictiveness, the officials can have had in mind. The exile system has been abolished by the present Czar, partly because of the light which Kennan let in upon it. His expulsion at the present time cannot keep from the light the further evils of the government. It will only increase the knowledge of them and the condemnation of them by the civilized world. Russia will some day discover that Kennan was one of her best friends, and will probably erect a monument to him in St. Petersburg.

The War Wreck.

BY ASENATH CARVER COOLIDGE.

From the camp of war — the camp accurst —
A sad young mother and child were thrust;

Out in the dark and the cold and rain,
Seeking for love in the world in vain.

Down to the sea with its fatal charms,
She flies with her burden crushed in her arms;

Down to the sea, for refuge at last,
Where a ship puts out with a war-fiend's blast.

She croucheth low on the wave-licked shore,
But heedeth not the sea's wild roar:

But a soldier's huzza for home and wife,
Falls on her ear, and crushes her life.

Have courage, O woman, for wrecks like thine,
Lie thick in the filth of the battle line.

But the bright high-noon of cleansing draws near,
When they that are Mighty in hosts shall appear,

To tell the great story, to say the last word,
Spoken out from the Infinite Heart of God.